

WAR

721 War, with the Papagos, was not an occasion for prestige as with
727 the Plains tribes nor of booty as with the Apache. It was a disagreeable necessity. The enemy, generally the Apache, was regarded as a shaman. His person, or anything that had touched him, was taboo. Therefore all booty was burned and the man who had killed an enemy or been wounded by him had to go through a long ordeal of purification.

721 War was enveloped in a mass of ritual but none of it was in glorification of combat. The ceremonial orations frequently end: "It is that vile wretch (the enemy) not we, who is uttering threats." Men were urged to fight in order to do their duty by their kinsmen and when this duty was done, they had to spend both time and material goods in purification during which they were frequently adjured:

"Verily who desires this?
Do not you desire it?
Then learn to endure hardship."

The reward of victory for the individual was the acquisition of power, not for war, but for curing. For the community as a whole it was that summum bonum of an agricultural people, rain and a good harvest.

702 Nevertheless, because of the Apache menace, the Papago were forced to train their youths to war; the respected men in the community had to be Enemy Slayers and a man who had no taste for fighting at all was practically forced to declare himself a berdache. Training began when boys were about fourteen.

• [517] In leisure periods, like the time after harvest, boys would be gathered daily at the house of the Keeper of the Meeting and he or the war leader would tell them war stories and explain fighting methods (9). Beginning with the age of twelve or so, they were given practice in using the shield, in shooting and dodging arrows. A row of boys holding shields would stand at one end of an open space and at the other a row with bows and blunt, wooden-tipped arrows. They were told to run toward each other and at a given distance the archers were to shoot, aiming at the legs so a wound would not be dangerous.

The business of the shield bearers was not to attack but to learn to dodge the arrows. They were told never to stand with their legs

Games and Betting

145

525

stick no. 1 face up, others down	15
stick no. 2 face up, others down	6
stick no. 3 face up, others down	4
stick no. 4 face up, others down	14
all sticks face up	5
all sticks face down	10
two face up and two face down	2
one face down and three face up	3

The players are two or four men, never women nor children. They move the counters the number of places indicated by the throw, beginning with the semi-circle outside the upper right hand corner. East and West play together, moving clockwise around the circle, while North and South move counter clockwise. A player may move his partner's counter if it is advantageous. If his move brings him to a hole occupied by a counter of his opponents, that counter is "killed" and must go back to the beginning.

Only one *hisiyskut* song was remembered and that was to be sung at home, before playing:

Down I shall throw!
The smooth stone I shall move
Move it to the corner. (26)

GAMES OF CHANCE
(for women)

ko'omai (stick dice). The dice were four split sticks, their rounded outer sides with the bark on, or blackened with charcoal, the inner side left white or painted red. Each woman kept her own set of sticks. They sat in a circle and each one staked something which was placed inside the circle. Then each one in turn tapped her sticks on a flat stone and let them fall, as in *kinakut*. The scoring was:

all black	2
all white	1
mixed colors	0

Each girl threw once with her own set of sticks, then if she scored anything, once with her opponent's. If she scored 0, she lost her second throw. Four points won the game and the winner took all the stakes.

Girls habitually played this on winter afternoons when they were at leisure. They would be surrounded by a ring of both men and women, betting on the result, while the girls themselves might bet any of their clothes or of their own manufactures. [517]●

¹⁹⁹₂₁₈ and down by the wash there were men bending over the fields where the corn and beans and squash were growing.

[533]

In the furrow
At the corner
The corn is growing green
Growing green.

I used to hear those songs coming from the houses, because we were so happy in summer time. We had rain. Every morning the sky was bright and every afternoon the little white cloud stood over the mountains to the east. Everywhere by the washes you saw the centipedes that are a sign of rain. We call them a blessing, those centipedes. There were so many that you could shake your head and, pff! one would fall out of your hair. Now there are no more. That fine weather is gone.

¹⁵⁹₆₇₉
721 We women did not have to fetch water. We could sit in the house and make baskets. Or else we could go off over the land to pick the fine fresh green things. At sunset all the village was full of laughing people, eating around their home fires.

Then we heard the crier call: "Come hither! Bring your cigarettes. We will smoke and talk of what we shall do!"

That call was for the men, not for the women. They got up from the fires and we saw them passing in the starlight against the gray desert that looks almost white on summer nights. I know what my father used to say to them in that meeting, for he has often told me how they spoke after the cigarette went round.

"Well! will you be ready? Take care, for often I have warned you. You must make arrows and your bow you must have in readiness, for when the enemy will arrive, you do not know. At night he may come; at night or in the morning or when the sun stands anywhere in the sky. Then you will arise, your bow you will snatch and therewith will fight the enemy.

"Close by you must keep your bow, your quiver, your hardwood arrows, and your reed arrows with the stone tip. Early in the morning must you have your food that you may be able to fight the enemy. Your girls very early must cook and must give food to the youths that they may be strong to fight no matter where the sun stands in the sky. Your girls shall pour water and shall search for wood and shall cook food. Early in the morning your girls shall run that when the enemy shall come, they can run swiftly and can save their lives.

"This I feel and this I say. Listen and my words shall enter your ears and enter your heads."

So he talked to them, and then they spoke of whether they would widen the ditches and if the boys were practising well for the races, and maybe a man from some other village was there to tell them the news. There was not a man among us who would miss that meeting. ^{159^x} ⁶¹⁷ ⁷²¹

We women sat in the dark, under the shelter, and told about the strange things we had heard. We told how there is a root which men carry to make the deer come to them and it makes women come, too. It smells strong and sweet, and you can smell it on the sweaty hands of a man beside you in the dance. If it is very strong and has been used in many love matches, sometimes it turns into a man. It walks up beside a woman while she is sleeping and makes her dream. ^{159^x} ⁵¹⁷ ^[332]

We told how, in our village, a girl was struck by lightning. Someone must have been menstruating and not have confessed it, said the medicine man. So he called all the girls, took out his crystals and looked at them. "It was the girl herself," he said. "She has killed herself." ^{159^x} ⁷⁶¹ ⁸²¹

We told how, when a woman does not seem to care for any man or a man for any woman, that person is really married to a snake. There was a man in our village who used to go out alone into the desert and disappear in a wash. His parents followed him and found there a little red snake with her baby snakes on her back. They said to their son: "What! have you a family of snakes?" He said: "No, she is a beautiful woman." That is how snakes fool you. The older women used to tell us, too, that if we thought too much about any boy before we were married, that boy would seem to come and make love to us. But it would not be he, it would only be a snake. So girls must not think too much about boys. That was what the old women told us. We must not think about boys and we must not talk to boys. When we were married it would be time enough to speak to a man. Now it was better to work and be industrious. ^{159^x} ⁸³⁴ ⁸⁶⁴

So I worked. But I used to think while I was sitting under the shelter with my basketry, about whether I would get a good man and whether I would like being married. I used to hear a good deal about married peoples troubles, because my father was chief in Mesquite Root. Married people who had quarrels brought their troubles to him. There was a post in front of our house where people were beaten who did wrong, and all the village would come to see and talk about what happened. ^{159^x} ⁶²² ⁶⁸¹

Once I remember how a wife came, very angry. She had walked a long way to tell about her husband. "He beats me," she said to my father. "You who are One Made Big Over Us, he beats me! But I love him." My father used to smile at things like that. He was a warrior and a gambler. He did not care about beating women. But he always settled things for them. So ^{159^x} ⁶⁸⁴

THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended family. One type of kinship terminology which is dying out on the Reservation has been correlated by Underhill with a former sib structure.¹¹ The several different terms for "father" in this terminology seem to have indicated patrilineal lines. The significance of these terms today is difficult to determine, for they are being replaced rapidly by the generalized term for "father" (*auk*) or, in many families, by "daddy." It is safe to say that no well-developed clan concept survives and that the present concept of the family and the extended family has not changed radically within the past generation. 596 614

The old people say that, when I'toi created men, he called the first one a Coyote, the next a Buzzard, the third a Coyote, and so on until all mankind (i.e., all the Papago) was divided into two groups. The younger people today hardly know to which group they belong, and some say that they belong to both; even for the elders the terms seem to have little significance except on ceremonial occasions, when they form the basis of standardized joking. 616

The Papago have no other formalized humor as do many Indian tribes, but jokes and teasing are the salt of daily life. Low and spontaneous laughter rises whenever the Desert People are gathered together, or the occasion is indeed a serious one. 522 517

MAKING A LIVING TOGETHER

In Papago society the household is the fundamental economic unit, and each member does his share of the work necessary to make a living in this difficult environment. Men are responsible for tilling the fields and caring for the livestock; women manage the domestic essentials; children help with the household or farm chores according to their strength and ability. The division of labor is thus fairly definite, but all work together when necessary. Women and children help bring in the crops and gather wild plants and fruits. Boys of ten or eleven often plow. 592 462

Both men and women make articles for sale or barter. Most women know how to weave baskets; a few make pottery or occasionally sew for others. Men tan leather and braid ropes of rawhide or horsehair. Money earned by handicrafts is thought of as belonging to the artisan rather than to the group, but in a society where incomes are low, a considerable proportion of such earnings must be used for family needs. 462 439 596

Since the introduction of wage work, some members of the family, particularly the young adults, are beginning to feel less obligation to contribute to the household. Most of them, however, continue to help, either bringing home provisions or sending money. Wage-earners who do not assist the family are 596 464

11. Op. cit., pp. 32-33.

EMOTIONAL PATTERNS OF PAPAGO CHILDREN

The Papago child who mentions money as the best thing thus shows an attitude apparently similar to and often identical with the one who names fiestas, a doll, a horse, or food. Money for him has, as for his elders, the significance of immediate gratification. Here the desires and the needs of an ancient premonetary culture are met with the tools of a recently introduced, alien socioeconomic and cultural system.

After urgent needs have been satisfied, money is used chiefly to obtain the sort of pleasure specific to old Papago culture, i.e., wholehearted and complete relaxation after the tension of work. The fact that the means of attaining such relaxation have changed has already led, and threatens to lead increasingly, to the disintegration of the individual and the group.

Before money played an appreciable role in Papago life, relaxation was found mainly in the common ceremonial gatherings which were regularly repeated between intervals of certain work. At some of these gatherings a number of behavior restrictions were temporarily lifted, and, in the eyes of his people, the individual had wide license to seek personal pleasure. At one of the main ceremonial gatherings—the wine ceremony—wine from the juice of the saguaro cactus played an essential role in inducing the desired relaxation. Becoming drunk to unconsciousness from this wine was seen as a magic device, symbolic of the rain that drenches the earth into fertility. Perhaps in this state of ritual drunkenness, a dream was sometimes hoped for and received.

With the advent of money, pleasure and relaxation which had previously been institutionalized, anticipated for months, prepared for by the whole community, and enjoyed by the individual with approval of the group could be bought by the wage-earner for himself alone and for his near-relatives and friends. What he got for his money was, however, very different from the pleasure his people had been trained for and had delighted in for centuries.

The Papago can buy necessary food, clothes, blankets, and tools on the Reservation, but pleasures as he wants them are not for sale. In the nearest towns, what few opportunities for amusement are available and comprehensible to him—a rare circus performance, a football game, the celebrations and parades of holidays, the movies—are full of the spirit of an alien culture, and he participates in them as an Indian among whites, as a stranger in a foreign country.

The only pleasure on sale which resembles the one he is used to (and at the same time can make him oblivious to the problems and conflicts arising from new and changed conditions) is alcohol. The sale of alcohol to Indians is illegal, and drunkenness is condemned by the government under whose

THE DESERT PEOPLE

273 administration he is living. But the Papago carries in himself the encouraging
 153 remembrance of traditional ceremonial sanctions; challenging the law made
 517 by white people, he spends a great deal of his money on drinks bought in
 556 town or smuggled across the Mexican border onto the Reservation.

Though drunkenness resulting from whiskey or gin gives the Papago pleasure of complete relaxation, and perhaps even dreams, it lacks the assurance and security which derive from the unity of purpose and common approval granted to everybody in the drinking ceremonials. Its magic and religious justification will gradually pale before a growing addiction to the pleasure of drink itself. There is no doubt that with increased wage-earning the number of acts of violence, of disturbed family relations from drunkenness, of Papago men apprehended and jailed for this reason on the Reservation and in town, has steadily risen. We shall return to these facts in chapter xvii, and we shall learn how conscious the children are of them.

153 Because of the subordinate function of money as a means of prestige and
 356 achievement among the Papago, and because of its quite preponderant conversion into a pleasure which, though similar to the traditional relaxation, lacks most of the constructive value of its model, the high rank of money among the best things mentioned by western Papago children seems alarming. This part of the Reservation is the least acculturated to the spirit of modern white civilization. At the same time, it is driven by its economic predicament to make use of the modern white system of wage work. The conditions surrounding this wage work—mainly in the cotton fields and mines—are not such as to further a psychological and spiritual adjustment to white culture. The incorporation of the money concept into the values of western Papago children seems to indicate that this paradoxical and disruptive situation is being increasingly accepted by their group.

In the eastern children's answers, money as the best thing does not occupy a conspicuous place. Here, though wage work is also done in the cotton fields or for the government, the need for it is less vital. While the Papago principle of pleasure is operating here too, and drunkenness is a similar problem, longer and more continuous contacts with noneconomic aspects of white civilization—in the near-by Agency, in the many and more regularly attended schools, in the missions—have apparently brought about change of values. School, the prestige of a "nice" job, work itself, and good character are of some importance in the East but are not mentioned in the West.

153 In both communities personal achievement is valued more highly as a best thing than as a pleasant experience. Perhaps this is partly due to schooling (which itself has competitive elements) and to the models of personal achieve-

[Arizona Labor Camps]

466 means little because of tremendous variation in physical
362 form of southern Arizona labor camps, which has been
discussed previously.

AGE

362 A few of these temporarily inhabited rural villages
run by cotton farmers on their farms have been used a
long time--up to 40 years. But most of them are quite
new since the great gamble on expanded cotton production
is of very recent date; mainly during and after World
War II. Most labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties have
had little time to deteriorate.

Because construction differs so greatly, figures on
age of camps have comparatively little meaning in terms
of camp quality. The average in 1950 seemed to be about
5 years--6 years in Pima county where some camps in use a
long time lengthened the average, and 4 years in Pinal
county where the main expansion in acreage has occurred
in years immediately past.¹

LEISURE TIME

512 For 6 days of the week, the pickers are in the fields
461 with the sun. On 5 days they quit work from about 3 p.m.
to sun down, and are ready for sleep soon after eating an
evening meal, although there is time for a little drinking
[521] or gambling for the men. On Saturday the evening is free
after an afternoon shopping trip, and Sunday is a day of
rest.

466 Cotton farmers show almost no realization that their
526 hands have any leisure time by providing recreational fac-
ilities. The only form of recreation provided in any of
the camps studied by the writer was a base-ball field.
517 These were generally simply cleared spots where ball could
521 be played, and employees furnished their own equipment.
Only about a seventh of the camps seem to have had even
ccc this elemental form of recreation.² Of necessity, much

[362] from only 8 farmers in both counties. Their investment
466 averaged \$4,487.50 per farm, but since one farmer of the
group had two camps, investment per camp averaged only
\$3,988.89.

¹Based on information on 38 camps averaging 5.3 years old.

Pima county: 17 camps studied averaged 6.3 years old.

Pinal county: 11 camps studied averaged 3.8 years old.

²3 of 21 labor camps on which data was obtained.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

of necessity, much

519
52 more reliance is placed by harvest hands on forms of amusement requiring a minimum of equipment and space: drinking, crap shooting, card playing, sexual indulgence.

797
527
[563] Cotton pickers hauled from towns each day of course had recreational resources of those population centers at their disposal. They could attend church on Sunday. Farmers make little effort to provide access to churches for their employees in labor camps. For some cotton pickers racial discrimination is a problem. As one Negro woman at Marana said, "There's a church over there, all right. But we don't know if they take colored. We don't go." For Catholic Papagos as Catholic Mexican-Americans, this is no problem. But farmers don't provide Sunday transportation to trading towns. The Desert People stay in labor camps on the Sabbath, except for a few from San Xavier who can take a bus home for the day occasionally.

527
[798]
527
346 About half the Papago women in the camps do some washing on Sunday.¹ An occasional individual picks some cotton, but most simply loaf around camp with nothing constructive to occupy them. Sonora Catholics make their household shrines in a corner of their cabins, and use them. In labor camps where all residents are Papagos, or where there are many of the Desert People in a large camp, they take over an empty cabin to furnish a chapel where they can hold their services.² One far-sighted farmer who understood his Papago employees built a fine chapel for them when he constructed a new concrete block camp, but such understanding is indeed rare. Labor camp chapels seem to serve a quarter of the Papago harvest hands.

¹Based on information from 8 families.

527
797
795
346
[797] ²"Sonora Catholicism antedates other Christian faiths on the Reservation today, for the belief and practice of Sonora Catholics are remnants of the teachings of the early Spanish missionaries, acquired either directly from the padres, or through other Indians or Mexicans. During the generations when no Catholic clergy came to Papagueria and the nearest priests were far away in Mexico, the faithful carried on as best they could the ceremonies and devotions of the church.

[798]
[797] "With the absence of priests and the passage of time, much of the Roman creed and ritual vanished. In the Sonora Catholic churches, for example, there are no Mass, no hymns and prayers in Latin, no confession, and no marriage ceremony. Children are baptised by godparents, and the people bury their own dead." Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 81-82.

³Based on information from 8 families.